

## Message Text

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41

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 USIE-00 CU-04 ACDA-19

STR-08 AGR-20 CIEP-02 COME-00 TRSE-00 EB-11 SAJ-01

OMB-01 DRC-01 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-04 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 /190 W  
----- 121172

O R 061300Z APR 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5067

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 128

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2207

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - APRIL 1-5

SUMMARY: CSCE RECESSED APRIL 5, TO RECONVENCE APRIL 22. IN FINAL  
LATE NIGHT SESSION BEFORE THE BREAK, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON TEXT  
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OF PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, ON BASIS OF LAST

MINUTE FRG-SOVIET COMPROMISE. SOVIETS SLOWED CONFERENCE PROGRESS ELSEWHERE PENDING AGREEMENT ON THIS PRINCIPLE. US REP MADE GENERAL STATEMENT IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE URGING DELEGATIONS TO TAKE A BROADER VIEW OF DETENTE, AND TO SEEK NEW SOLUTIONS TO CONFERENCE ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PRINCIPLES -- IN LATE FRIDAY NIGHT SESSION, CONFERENCE FINALLY REGISTERED TEXT OF KEY PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. SOVIETS WERE CLEARLY UNDER HIGHEST LEVEL PRESSURE TO GET CLEAR TEXT AGREED BEFORE EASTER BREAK, AND THIS MAY HAVE HELPED WEST TO OBTAIN SURPRISINGLY GOOD INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE. UNDER TERMS OF COMPROMISE, SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE WAS REGISTERED SEPARATELY, WITH ITS PLACE AMONG THE TEN PRINCIPLES TO BE DECIDED LATER. BOTH THE SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE AND WORDING OF THE INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE ITSELF PROVIDE IMPORTANT SAFEGUARDS FOR WESTERN POSITIONS. THE SOVIETS TACITLY ABANDONED THEIR DESIRE FOR WORDING WHICH WOULD IMPLY IMMUTABILITY OF FRONTIERS, AND THE FORMULATION THAT EMERGED STRONGLY IMPLIES THAT ONLY VIOLENT CHANGES ARE EXCLUDED. THIS HIGHLY SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE WAS TEMPORARILY JEOPARDIZED WHEN BONN, EVIDENTLY RESPONDING TO CDU CRITICISM IN BUNDESTAG, SENT TOUGH LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS TO FRG DEL. UNDER PRESSURE FROM ALLIES AND SOVIETS ALIKE, FRG DEL FINALLY AGREED TO REGISTER COMPROMISE TEXT WITHOUT BRACKETS WITH FRG RESERVATIONS NOTED IN INTERPRETIVE STATEMENT CIRCULATED TO CONFERENCE.

2. MILITARY SECURITY -- HAVING COMPLETED PRELIMINARY DRAFTING ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS), THE SUBCOMMITTEE DEVOTED ITS TIME THIS WEEK TO OTHER ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY, (PARAS 22 AND 24 OF HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS) AND TO DEVELOPING A PREAMBLE FOR CBMS. WHILE A TEXT DEALING WITH SOME ASPECTS OF PARAS 22 AND 24 WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, THE VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS AND A STRONG FRENCH RESERVE ON THE WHOLE SUBJECT HIGHLIGHTED THE NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES WHICH STILL HAVE TO BE OVERCOME. WITH REGARD TO A PREAMBLE FOR CBMS THE SOVIETS QUESTIONED THE NEED FOR ANY SIGNIFICANT DETAIL AND RESERVED THEIR POSITION ON UK, ROMANIAN AND NEUTRAL PROPOSALS.

3. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT -- PRESENTATIONS BY NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES WERE SUBSTANTIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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CORRECT AND WERE MARRED ONLY BY ARAB REFUSAL TO ATTEND SCIENCE SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING CHAIRED BY PORTUGAL. FIRM PORTUGUESE POSITION, SUPPORTED BY FRG, US AND BELGIAN DELEGATIONS, PERMITTED ISRAELI PRESENTATION AND AVOIDED UNPLEASANT SIDE EFFECTS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES CONSIDERABLY NARROWED DIFFERENCES ON BUSINESS INFORMATION AND THE SOVIETS FINALLY OFFERED THEIR FIRST REACTIONS TO THE EC-NINE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON BUSINESS CONTACTS. DESPITE PREVIOUS HINTS FROM THE EAST OVER THE UNACCEPTABILITY

OF THIS DOCUMENT, THE SOVIET ATTITUDE SEEMED MODERATE. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE AGAIN RECORDED NO PROGRESS, FAILING TO FIND CONSENSUS EVEN OVER THE MODEST ISSUE OF HOW TO TREAT MEDIUM AND SMALL FIRMS. INTENSIVE INFORMAL EFFORT ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ACHIEVED APPARENT AGREEMENT ON ALL BUT A FEW WORDS OF TEXT ON "REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES TO COOPERATION." THIS WAS DISSIPATED, HOWEVER, WHEN SOVIETS AND GDR COMPLETELY REVERSED THEIR POSITION, POSSIBLE AS RESULT OF NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN "PRINCIPLES" SUBCOMMITTEE EARLIER THAT DAY. MEANWHILE, ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED ITS STEADY PROGRESS ON AN AGREED TEXT.

4. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- FULL COMMITTEE WAS UNABLE TO AGREE ON ANY PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS, AS COMPROMISE FORMULAS ON AN INITIAL PARAGRAPH WERE REJECTED BY THE EAST. HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEES, WORKING LARGELY IN INFORMAL GROUPS, MADE ONLY GLACIAL PROGRESS TOWARD DEVELOPING TEXTS ON REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURAL COOPERATION ADOPTED A LESS

BINDING VERSION OF A TEXT COVERING THREE FRENCH PROJECT: CULTURAL DATA BANK, INVENTORY OF CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC FILMS, AND LARGE-SCALE BOOK EXHIBITIONS. EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE REGISTERED TEXT ON CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEM OF COMPARISON AND EQUIVALENCE OF ACADEMIC DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS.

5. FOLLOW-UP -- FINISH REP GAVE EXPANDED EXPLANATION OF CONCEPT OF "MANAGERIAL" FOLLOW-UP, TO ORGANIZE AND COORDINATE TECHNICAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY, BUT TO HAVE NO SPECIFIC POLITICAL MANDATE. NORWEGIAN REP PUT FORWARD IDEA OF "STEP-BY-STEP" FOLLOW-UP AS ANOTHER POSSIBLE COMPROMISE SOLUTION. UNDER THIS APPROACH, CSCE WOULD AGREE IN ADVANCE TO HOLD SEVERAL FUTURE MEETINGS OF A POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP BODY, BUT WOULD FIX THE DATE AND PLACE ONLY OF THE FIRST SUCH MEETING. PERIODICITY OF FURTHER MEETINGS COULD BE DECIDED

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LATER.

6. COMMENT: AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS IS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCE BREAKTHROUGH TO DATE, AND SHOULD GIVE IMPETUS TO PROGRESS IN ALL SUBJECT AREAS. COMING IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS, IT SHOULD HELP TO DEMONSTRATE THAT CSCE CAN REACH CONCLUSIONS WHICH ARE BROADLY ACCEPTABLE, AND THUS LEAD GOVERNMENTS TO MORE POSITIVE JUDGMENTS OF THE FUTURE OF THE CONFERENCE. ODDLY, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO HAVE SETTLED FOR LESS THAN THEY COULD HAVE GOTTEN HERE, AND EVIDENTLY DECIDED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON THE PRINCIPLE ITSELF IN ORDER TO REGISTER IT NOW. NEVERTHELESS, THEY HAVE INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT BREZHNEV HIMSELF HAS BEEN FOLLOWING THE DAILY DEVELOPMENT OF DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT, AND THEY CAN TAKE SATISFACTION IN HAVING EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE POINT THEY CONSIDER MOST IMPORTANT. THEY MAY

ALSO BE EXPECTED TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS TO OBTAIN AN EARLY  
CONCLUSION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, NOW THAT THEY CAN  
SEE THAT THE PRIZE IS WITHIN THEIR GRASP. THE STATEMENT BY THE US  
REP TO THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE NOTED THAT CSCE IS ENTERING A  
DECISIVE STAGE, AND ENCOURAGED ALL PARTICIPANTS TO FIND CONSTRUCTIVE  
SOLUTIONS TO THE ISSUES STILL BEFORE THE CONFERENCE. WE  
BELIEVE THE AGREEMENT ON INVIOABILITY IS AN INDICATION OF  
WIDESPREAD WILLINGNESS TO DO THIS, AND AUGURS WELL FOR THE WORK  
AHEAD. END COMMENT. MILLER

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## Message Attributes

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